

and resoluteness for a Communist elite acting with firm discipline and according to one doctrine. Psychological weakness in the Free World will then be pitted against the psychological strength of the Communist janissaries.

Much of this may be wiseful thinking on the part of the Communists, but to the degree that the most crucial decision of all, war or peace, has been allowed to slip into Communist hands, the Communists have achieved psychological dominance. The Kremlin almost has become the master of mankind's fate: harsh, jealous, revengeful, and unpredictable like Jehovah—a father image the like of which the world has never seen. John Foster Dulles described this unhealthy situation as early as 1946: "Few men in political life anywhere act without first thinking whether they will please or displease the leaders of the Soviet Union. Never in history have a few men in a single country achieved such world-wide influence."

This world-wide influence is the true measure of Soviet success in psychological warfare.

The only redeeming feature is that the Kremlin Olympus is neither omnipotent nor omniscient. It is beset with its own fears and psychological difficulties, which today are increasing at a staggering rate. Its methods work only for a time and to a degree. At the height of physical power, the motivation and conviction of Communism have begun to wane. The *Männerbund* at the top of the Communist movement has been split up, because the image of the iron-willed robot is an unreal one, because neither healthy psyches nor minds can be kept in a state of constant disorientation, and because the Communists bear a huge guilt for numerous crimes and gradually are beginning to feel the pangs of conscience.

The psychological planning of man has remained impossible. Yet we would be foolish to ignore that the Communists have made great strides in the art of psychological manipulation. The West does not yet understand the nature of the psychological attack that has been launched. It does not comprehend the causes of its paralysis, and often does not even notice that its freedom to act has been impeded. Once the Free World will assess the conflict in its psychological dimension, the course of history will be reversed.

*"The Kremlin, for decades, has practiced the refinement of political strategy, propaganda agitation techniques and organizational manipulation. Comparable techniques are available to the United States, but we have thus far failed to utilize them on an integrated national basis."*

—from "Organizing for Conflict: A Proposal," by William B. Kinner, *Orbis*, Vol. II, No. 2, Summer 1958.



The Communists play up and down a wide scale of events, boldness, and surprises, all designed to keep the Free World off balance.